**DOCUMENT RESUME**

ED 150 034 SO 010 434

| | |
|---|---|
| AUTHOR | Kobayashi, Fumio |
| TITLE | Education in Building Chinese Socialism: Theory and Reality in the Transitional Period. IDE Special Paper No. 1. |
| INSTITUTION | Institute of Developing Economics, Tokyo (Japan). |
| PUB DATE | 76 |
| NOTE | 35p. |
| AVAILABLE FROM | Maruzen Co., Ltd., P.O. Box 5050, Tokyo International 100-31, Japan ($1.50 paperbound) |
| EDRS PRICE | MF-$0.83 Plus Postage. HC Not Available from EDRS. |
| DESCRIPTORS | Asian Studies; Chinese Culture; *Communism; *Comparative Education; Educational Change; *Educational Development; Educational History; *Educational Philosophy; *Educational Planning; Educational Policy; Educational Responsibility; Educational Theories; Elementary Secondary Education; Foreign Countries; Higher Education; *Political Socialization; School Role; Socialism; Socioeconomic Influences |
| IDENTIFIERS | China; Mao Tse Tung |

ABSTRACT

The booklet discusses educational problems in China after the 1949 Revolution and describes policies of the Chinese Communist Party to counteract those problems. Examining the educational problems in the context of the sociocultural environment, the booklet identifies major problems as low levels of productivity, limited educational resources, and a high rate of illiteracy. The Chinese Communist Party based the educational and cultural reforms of the First Five Year Plan (1953-8) on the philosophies of Mao Tse Tung. The educational program consisted of two parts: first, improving the school system and, second, broadening educational opportunities to change the class composition of the educated. Instead of conceiving of education as compulsory schooling, the Party approached education as a sociopolitical movement to change traditional attitudes towards education. The Party adopted various institutional forms of learning (agricultural schools, literacy schools for peasants, regional schools of higher education) to accomplish "what is possible" in "any way possible" by "whomsoever is capable." The conclusion is that educational policies and methods adopted by the Chinese Communist Party have succeeded in alleviating illiteracy, improving economic productivity, and increasing interaction between party members and the masses. (Author/DB)

**********
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
**********

ED150034

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL IN MICROFICHE ONLY HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
Institute of Developing Economics
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC) AND USERS OF THE ERIC SYSTEM."

# Education in Building Chinese Socialism

## Theory and Reality in the Transitional Period

Fumio KOBAYASHI

SØ 010 434

INSTITUTE OF DEVELOPING ECONOMIES
Tokyo, Japan

Contents


| | Page |
|---|---|
| Introduction | 1 |
| 1. Theory and Reality in Chinese Education during the First Five-Year Plan | 3 |
| A. Initial Educational Policy and Its Deficiencies | 3 |
| B. Policy Change and New Contradictions | 8 |
| C. Change from "Policy from Above" to "Policy from Below" and Further Development | 11 |
| 11. Educational Reform in the People's Commune Period | 16 |
| A. The Purification Movement and the Socialist Education Movement | 16 |
| B. The Establishment of the New Socialist School (Agricultural Secondary School) and the Educational Revolution | 19 |
| C. Success in Educational Revolution and People's Commune Education | 25 |
| Conclusion: The Issue of Chinese Socialism-Mao Tse-tung's Philosophy of Education | 30 |


---


The author is senior research officer, Institute of Developing Economies.



© Copyright 1976 by Institute of Developing Economies, 42 Ichigaya-Hommura-cho, Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo 162, Japan.
Made and printed in Japan by East West Publications, Ltd.

# INTRODUCTION

CHINA WAS culturally backward when it started the task of building socialism. When the People's government was established in 1949, the literacy rate was less than 20 per cent, an average rate of primary school attendance at approximately 20 per cent, and a total number of university graduates some tens of thousands. The foundation was specially weak in the natural sciences and hygiene where highly trained and experienced medical doctors numbered only two thousand. Taking into account an estimated population then at around 450 million, one can easily imagine how depressed the entire situation was. Not without reason Mao characterized Chinese society as "firstly poor and secondly white,"[1] white referring to the nonexistence or low level of education and the weak cultural base.

This situation made it necessary for the new nation to propagate and build up cultural levels, as they were simultaneously building the economy giving priority to heavy industrial growth. Thus, the 1949 Common Program (officially, Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, was the provisional Constitution until the adoption of formal Constitution in 1954) called for the cultural and educational construction. School reforms were begun in 1951, and school building increased at a rapid pace. Such efforts dramatically reduced the number of illiterate adults by around 100 million during the First Five-Year Plan period from 1953 to 1958. The number of school-attending children (primary and secondary) increased to approximately ten times the highest prewar level (1943) and the number of university students quadrupled (Tables 1 and 2). Other general educational facilities including public libraries, meeting houses, and cultural centers and clubs were also rapidly increased, along with the number of publications, newspapers, magazines, and books. In May 1958, at the second session of the Eighth National Congress of the Chinese Communist party, the "cultural and technological revolution" was declared an indispensable ring in socialist revolution, prompting pledges from the administration to further the efforts in education and culture, based solely on the idea that such efforts are the motive power and prerequisite for building socialism.

However, it must also be pointed out that a socialist culture should not come from above but be created by the people, reflecting the socialist economy, and serving socialist politics. The above-cited propositions did not, at least in part, consider raising the self-awareness of the people to an adequate level. Emphasis on speed often meant merely imitating the already set pattern of the USSR, mechanically applying it to the Chinese situation with little regard for Chinese realities. The accomplishment was not smooth with few problems, various contradictions and difficulties arose, and an incessant struggle was made to combat

[1] Mao Tse-tung, "Chiehshao ikê hêtsoshê" [Introducing a co-operative], *Hungch'i*, 1958, No. 1.

TABLE 1

NUMBER OF STUDENTS ENROLLED IN VARIOUS EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS, 1949–58

(10,000)

| | Universities and Colleges | Secondary Specialized Schools | Secondary Schools | Primary Schools |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Pre-1949 peak | 15.5 | 38.3 | 149.6 | 2,368.3 |
| 1949 | 11.7 | 22.9 | 103.9 | 2,439.1 |
| 1950 | 13.7 | 25.7 | 130.5 | 2,892.4 |
| 1951 | 15.3 | 38.3 | 156.8 | 4,315.4 |
| 1952 | 19.1 | 63.6 | 249.0 | 5,110.0 |
| 1953 | 21.2 | 66.8 | 293.3 | 5,166.4 |
| 1954 | 25.3 | 60.8 | 358.7 | 5,121.8 |
| 1955 | 28.8 | 53.7 | 390.0 | 5,312.6 |
| 1956 | 40.3 | 81.2 | 516.5 | 6,346.4 |
| 1957 | 44.1 | 77.8 | 628.1 | 6,427.9 |
| 1958 | 66.0 | 147.0 | 852.0 | 8,640.0 |

Source: State Statistical Bureau, *Weita-ti shih-nien* [Ten great years] (Peking, 1959).

TABLE 2

NUMBER OF STUDENTS IN ANTI-ILLITERACY CLASSES, 1949–58

(10,000)

| Year | Students in Anti-illiteracy Classes |
|---|---|
| 1949 | 65.7 |
| 1950 | 137.2 |
| 1951 | 137.5 |
| 1952 | 65.6 |
| 1953 | 295.4 |
| 1954 | 263.7 |
| 1955 | 367.8 |
| 1956 | 743.4 |
| 1957 | 720.8 |
| 1958 | approx. 4,000.0 |

Source: See Table 1.

TABLE 4

FOODGRAINS AND COTTON PRODUCTION, 1949–55

(Million metric ton)

| Year | Grains | Cotton |
|---|---|---|
| 1936 | 150 | 0.85 |
| 1949 | 113 | 0.44 |
| 1950 | 132 | 0.71 |
| 1951 | 145 | 1.04 |
| 1952 | 164 | 1.30 |
| 1953 | 167 | 1.18 |
| 1954 | 170 | 1.07 |
| 1955 | 184 | 1.52 |

Source: Adler, p. 129.

them.

This paper will analyze educational problems during the First Five-Year Plan, focusing upon various measures the new Chinese government adopted for the entirely unprecedented task of building socialism. Emphasis will be given to the role played by philosophy and methodology. Then, the discussion will turn to the debate around which issues have been solved and which ones remain yet to be answered in the context of the Great Cultural Revolution. I will also try to shed some light on the unique philosophy of man and education of the Chinese Communist party, or rather of Mao Tse-tung.

# I. THEORY AND REALITY IN CHINESE EDUCATION DURING THE FIRST FIVE-YEAR PLAN

## A. *Initial Educational Policy and Its Deficiencies*

The ideal education in a socialist country is, as Marx says, a combination of education and productive labor to nurture man's balanced growth. This is the tenth measure in the *Communist Manifesto* to attain proletarian supremacy in a bourgeois society.[2] However, this principle was not observed in the actual execution of educational policy during the initial, transitional period of Chinese socialism, i.e., in the first decade from the establishment of the regime in 1949 and economic recovery to the end of the First Five-Year Plan. Rather, the country lacked the conditions upon which this principle could be put into practice with a high illiteracy rate, low school attendance, lack of personnel and teachers in absolute figures, low levels of science and technology, poor educational facilities, and remnants of semi-feudal and semi-colonial restrictions on the masses. Low national income due to low productivity was a further restrictive factor. A long period of time seemed necessary before any fundamental reform could be effected.

Production figures in principal industries at the end of 1949 were far below the prewar high, as seen in Table 3. It took four long years to reach the prewar figure. In agriculture, it took four years for grain production and three years for cotton production to reach their previous high level (Table 4). Education as an aspect of all social phenomena is strongly influenced by productive forces in a nation. With low levels of production, national income cannot be high, forcing the people to work very hard. Statistics show that as late as 1957

TABLE 1

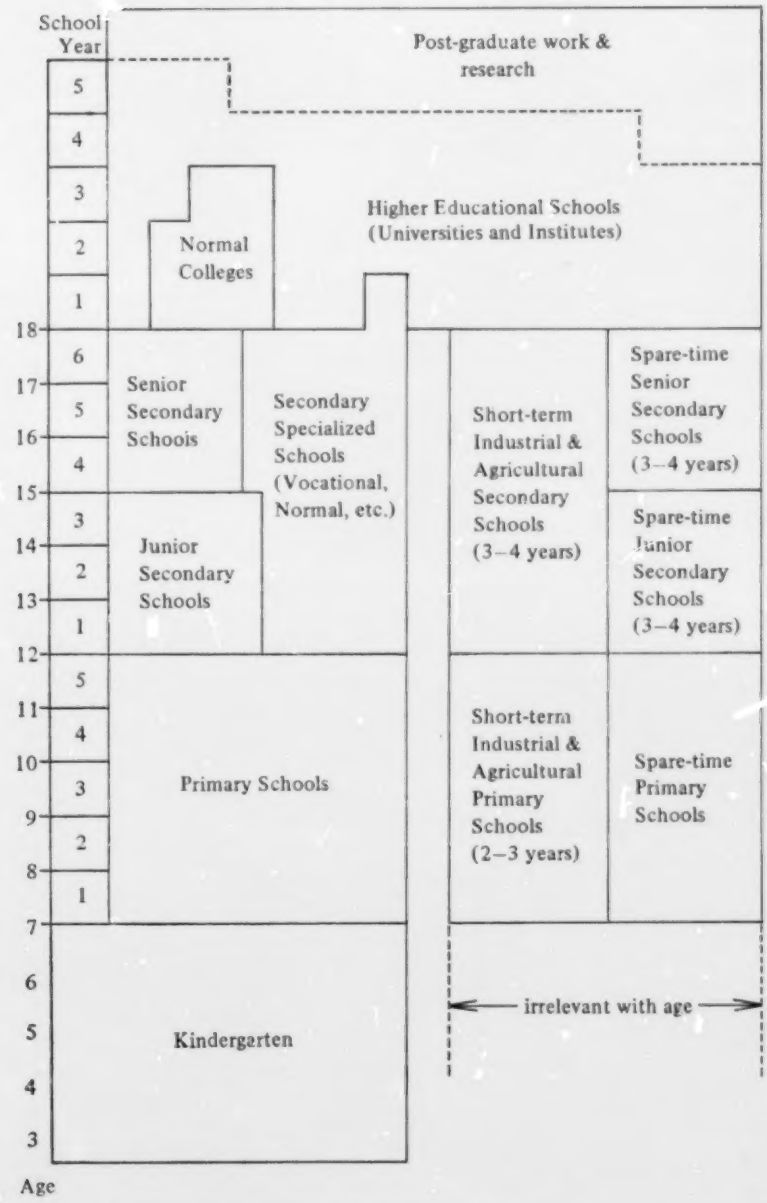
OUTPUT OF ESSENTIAL INDUSTRIAL GOODS, 1949-52

| | Pre-1949 Peak | 1949 | 1950 | 1951 | 1952 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Electric power (million kilowatt-hours) | 5,950 | 4,310 | 4,570 | 5,780 | 7,260 |
| Coal (million tons) | 61.9 | 31.0 | 40.9 | 50.8 | 63.5 |
| Pig iron (thousand tons) | 1,800 | 246 | 969 | 1,415 | 1,900 |
| Crude steel (thousand tons) | 923 | 158 | 605 | 894 | 1,349 |
| Cement (thousand tons) | 2,290 | 660 | 1,410 | 2,490 | 2,860 |
| Cotton yarn (thousand bales of 400 pounds) | 2,447 | 1,803 | 2,416 | 2,685 | 3,618 |
| Cotton cloth (million bolts) | n.a. | 36.5 | 56.2 | 71.9 | 111.6 |
| Machine-made paper (thousand tons) | 165 | 108 | 140 | 241 | 372 |

Source: S. Adler, *The Chinese Economy* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1957), p. 25.

[2] Marx and Engels express in *The Manifesto of the Communist Party* as: "Free education for all children in public schools. Abolition of children's factory labour in its present form. Combination of education with industrial production, . . ." (Foreign Language Publishing House, p. 69).

Fig. 1. Structure of Educational System




Source: State Council's directive on the educational reform.

(the last year of the First Five-Year Plan) workers' average annual income was merely 636 yuan, for peasants the figure was 66 in 1956.[3] It is far from easy to send children to school under such conditions. In order to change the state of affairs (the condition of "firstly poor and secondly white") and increase productivity quickly, productive relations must be changed. But to change or maintain newly created productive relations, a great number of man compatible in terms both of technology and thought are needed. This puts first priority on fostering human improvement as the essential condition for all that follows.

Despite this reasoning, however, in initial policy and execution by the Chinese Communist party (CCP) and government educational offices through 1953, insufficient attention was given to, and these ideas were therefore incompatible with the realities of productive capacity. The aim was to totally equalize and against this old cultural anomaly.

The program consisted of two parts: first, improving school system in order to expand educational opportunity, and, second, rearranging the conditions to change the class composition of the educated. In this illiteracy would be totally eradicated. To attain the first objective, the administration started a new educational system in October 1951, in which five-year integrated primary schools were to be built throughout the country. To achieve the second objective, a great number of special worker-peasant short-term secondary schools to finish the normal six-year curriculum in three to four years, people's universities sponsored by the CCP to train worker and peasant leaders in four to five years, and a scholarship system were established (see Figure 1). Both people's universities and short-term secondary schools provided free tuition and free room and board, and students were admitted upon the recommendation of the respective constituencies to which they belonged. Workers attending these schools were given the same salary as on the job.

These measures proved quite successful, raising the numbers of pupils and students rapidly until in 1952 enrollments exceeded prewar peak levels (Table 1). Class composition of student bodies also changed, gradually increasing the level of workers and peasants and their sons and daughters (Table 5).

TABLE 5

PROPORTION OF STUDENTS FROM WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' FAMILIES AMONG TOTAL STUDENT NUMBERS (%)

| | Universities and Colleges | Secondary Specialized Schools | Senior and Junior Secondary Schools |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1951 | 19.1 | 56.6 | 51.3 |
| 1952 | 20.5 | 57.1 | 56.1 |
| 1953 | 21.9 | 55.9 | 57.7 |
| 1954 | ... | 58.8 | 60.7 |
| 1955 | 29.0 | 62.0 | 62.2 |
| 1956 | 34.1 | 64.1 | 66.0 |
| 1957 | 36.3 | 66.6 | 69.1 |
| 1958 | 48.0 | 77.0 | 75.2 |

Source: See Table 1.

[3] *Jenmin jihpao*, May 5, 1957.

TABLE 6

PLANNED NUMBER OF STUDENTS TO BE ENROLLED IN HIGHER AND SECONDARY EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS DURING FIRST FIVE-YEAR PLAN PERIOD

A. Higher Educational Institutions

| Specialized Field | Planned Enrollment 1953–57 | Percentage of Students Enrolled | Number of Graduates 1953–57 | Percentage of Graduates | Number of Students in 1957 | Percentage of Students | Ratio of 1957 Enrolled Students to 1952 (1952=100) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Engineering | 214,600 | 39.5 | 94,900 | 33.6 | 177,600 | 40.9 | 266.8 |
| Agriculture and forestry | 41,800 | 7.7 | 18,800 | 6.6 | 37,200 | 8.6 | 240.7 |
| Economics and finance | 16,400 | 3.0 | 25,500 | 9.0 | 12,700 | 2.9 | 57.9 |
| Political science and law | 10,600 | 2.0 | 4,800 | 1.7 | 9,300 | 2.1 | 242.3 |
| Public health | 57,600 | 10.6 | 26,600 | 9.4 | 54,800 | 12.6 | 221.4 |
| Physical culture | 6,000 | 1.1 | 2,800 | 1.0 | 3,600 | 0.8 | 1,107.7 |
| Natural sciences | 32,600 | 6.0 | 13,800 | 4.9 | 27,100 | 6.2 | 283.4 |
| Arts | 29,300 | 5.4 | 21,600 | 7.6 | 20,400 | 4.7 | 150.9 |
| Pedagogy | 130,700 | 24.0 | 70,400 | 24.9 | 89,000 | 20.5 | 282.0 |
| Fine arts | 3,700 | 0.7 | 3,800 | 1.3 | 2,900 | 0.7 | 79.3 |
| Total | 543,300 | 100.0 | 283,000 | 100.0 | 434,600 | 100.0 | 227.4 |

B. Secondary Educational Institutions

| Specialized Field | Planned Enrollment 1953–57 | Percentage of Students Enrolled | Number of Graduates 1953–57 | Percentage of Graduates | Number of Students in 1957 | Percentage of Students | Ratio of 1957 Enrolled Students to 1952 (1952=100) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Engineering | 346,300 | 34.4 | 186,400 | 21.0 | 244,000 | 36.3 | 219.0 |
| Agriculture and forestry | 121,600 | 12.1 | 82,900 | 9.3 | 98,800 | 14.7 | 148.3 |
| Economics and finance | 51,000 | 5.1 | 52,700 | 5.9 | 33,300 | 5.0 | 63.7 |
| Pedagogy | 360,500 | 35.8 | 465,500 | 52.4 | 218,500 | 32.5 | 63.3 |
| Public health | 118,500 | 11.8 | 98,700 | 11.1 | 70,900 | 10.6 | 119.3 |
| Physical culture | 4,100 | 0.4 | 800 | 0.1 | 3,500 | 0.5 | 385.1 |
| Fine arts | 3,700 | 0.4 | 1,300 | 0.2 | 2,800 | 0.4 | — |
| Total | 1,005,700 | 100.0 | 888,300 | 100.0 | 671,800 | 100.0 | 105.6 |

Source: State Council, *First Five-Year Plan for Development of the National Economy of the People's Republic of China in 1953–1957* (Peking: Foreign Language Press, 1956), pp. 178, 182.

One can easily surmise that such measures aimed at "education for all" would benefit a wide range of people. The second portion of the program was also entirely correct to adopt as long as it functioned to build up a socialist economic system. But with still stagnant productivity and the resulting low government spending on education, the material supply of necessary items could not possibly be guaranteed. Even when the five-year public primary schools were established throughout the nation, what was the situation with facilities, educational materials, and teaching staff? In its leadership training program, the First Five-Year Plan provided training for only 360,500 teachers at primary and secondary levels. One may add to this figure about 130,700 trained at teachers' colleges, and figures will be merely at half a million (see Table 6). How could half a million people be expected to deal with all enrolled pupils? Government investment in education was only 280 million yuan in 1952 and 620 million in 1953, 6.4 per cent and 7.8 per cent of total government investment. Adding government investment in public health and welfare and there is still a low 10 per cent.[4] This is less than half the percentage of education-related government spending in Japan during the same years.[5]

Naturally various contradictions developed. Speed in leadership training was important if the First Five-Year Plan was to be realized on schedule. Carrying out educational policy in the initial period, aimed at "education for all" and priority for the working and peasant classes, was halted. In December 1953, the new school system of five-year integrated primary schools was terminated, and in July 1955 short-term secondary schools for workers and peasants stopped accepting applications for enrollment. Thus, the initial policy gradually retreated. In fact, a close look at Table 1 shows that, except for institutions of higher learning, the rate of student enrollment increase came to almost a standstill in 1953, 1954, and 1955. No conspicuous achievement is observable during this period in the fight against illiteracy, where it even retrogressed in 1952 compared to 1949 levels. A low rate of illiteracy elimination is a clear indication of a lack of extra-school facilities, whose chief objective was to fight against this old cultural anomaly.

The government directive ordering the five-year integrated system to be discontinued said, "Due to our unbalanced economic development, development of primary schooling has also been unbalanced. Uniform improvement of all primary schools in the entire nation is an impossible demand to meet," an implicit admission of subjectivism in educational administrative guidance. But this goes beyond the subjectivist tendency, in this specific field of education, to more basic issues of contradictions between productivity and productive relations and their influence on education. This announcement marks a turning point to a new, more fundamental task for education in China at that stage of development. The basic rule was emphasis on special technical training for

[4] State Statistical Bureau, *Weita-ti shih-nien* [Ten great years] (Peking, 1959).

[5] The educational expenditure share of the national budget of Japan was 19.8 per cent in 1952 and 20.3 per cent in 1953. Japan, Ministry of Education, *Wagakuni no kyōiku suijun* [The level of education in Japan].

leadership positions corresponding to the heavy-industry-oriented policy, and this was manifested in stronger efforts for education in urban and mining and industrial areas. This was to give priority to heavy over light industry, to institutions of higher and technical learning over primary and secondary schools. This would mean that government spending be allotted to develop a free tuition and scholarship system for university and some tuition for primary schools, or that greater emphasis be given to urban engineering education rather than to eliminating illiteracy. All this would provide greater benefits in educational opportunities to industrial workers and less to the peasantry.

Inevitably such a change in policy would result in new gaps and contradictions with the growing demand for education among the former beneficiary, 500 million peasants. How did the CCP deal with this new problem?

B. *Policy Change and New Contradictions*

The new line of educational policy is outlined in the above directive and the report of Chang Hsi-juo, in a position comparable to minister of education, at the second session of the First National People's Congress.[6] As pointed out, the new line deliberately widened unbalanced educational opportunities for urban and rural areas. More concretely, it restricted pupils in primary and secondary schools from going on to higher education levels.

The directive says, "For a rather long time to come, graduates of primary schools mainly will participate in productive labor, except a very small portion of those graduates who would advance to secondary schools." The Chang report states, "For a rather long time to come the national policy regarding higher primary school and lower secondary school pupils will be to admit a small number of graduates to higher level schooling but to organize the principal part of them in such a way that they will in part engage themselves in industrial production and mostly in agricultural production, particularly in the movement for agricultural cooperatives." Naturally, the "small portion of those graduates" and the "small number of graduates" means youths in urban and industrial-mining sections, while the rest are youths in vast rural areas and adult illiterates. With the presentation of a series of new measures, the leadership training program for the First Five-Year Plan period was announced in July 1955 (Table 6). Apparently high priorities placed on engineering fields are a clear indication that education must be subjected to the more general policy of economic development that emphasizes heavy industry. As during the NEP period in the USSR, it was a form of proletarian dictatorship, following the principle of education in any less developed country to develop rapidly in economic terms.

But the policy of giving educational benefits to only a small portion of the population while alienating a great majority and making them belabor themselves, even though it may be an unavoidable traditional phenomenon and, objectively speaking, the correct course to take, can only deepen internal contradictions and antagonism among the people. Some of the alienated may

[6] The Report of Chang Hsi-juo at the second session of the First National People's Congress (*Jénmin jihpao*, July 23, 1955).

advance the argument that the policy of the Chinese Communist party is neither socialistic nor communistic. In order to claim this latter argument "wrong," persuasive and powerful facts must be given while a somewhat different category of educational effort must be presented. But what the party could present was only the following: "In everyday education, one should concentrate not on what his next schooling may be but on how he may take part in productive labor. The enthusiasm and inclination for labor should be encouraged, and the tendency to despise manual labor on the part of some of the pupils and students should be overcome. At the same time, this reasoning must be explained clearly to the masses. From now on, all public officials and primary school teachers should embark on propaganda and educational activities for the people and students" (directive), and "The government is deeply concerned about these youths [who were unable to continue schooling due to the policy change]. It is wrong, however, that some parents look only to the government for specific rescue measures. It is neither practical nor possible" (report by Chang).

The logic is simply this: "Attending school is not the only way to be educated in a socialist society. What is important and correct is to recognize the respectfulness and significance of labor." The situation was deteriorating too much to be saved by such logic, which Chang admitted himself. He had the following to say at the very beginning of his report: "During the past few years, in the summer months, prior to the new academic year, there has been growing tension on the issue of further education or participation in labor for those graduating from primary or secondary schools. The situation is not improved this year."

Why was it then that the policy change in education brought forth such a sharp conflict and deep sense of alienation among the peasants? There is no escaping from alienation unless one is aware of that alienation. Did the Chinese peasantry of the pre-revolutionary period possess of such an awareness? The answer is no. Among the traditional Chinese peasant there was no more than a sense of resignation symbolized by A-Q described by Lu Hsün. The fact that some post-revolutionary peasants were aware of their alienation and eager to receive education must mean that there are factors creating this type of person. This factor can only be found through examining the previous CCP policy of "education for all" and the party was now seen as an oppressor. Those peasants who benefited even for a short period came to realize the importance of education. Naturally, due to the ambivalent nature of the peasantry in general, they must have realized the more practical meaning of knowledge in its mundane benefit.

It was precisely at this time that the pace of collectivization in agriculture picked up. In July 1955, Mao published his essay on agricultural collectivization. As a prerequisite collectivization calls for a certain cultural level and technical standard in every hamlet or village. For instance, the working days for each worker must be recorded, and everyone must be at least able to write his own name. But assuming for the moment that party members from urban

areas or urban schools, who can read, write, and do arithmetic, are dispatched to collective farms, and work with producing peasants who cannot do any of these essentials, the peasants would not trust the leaders, with a definite arousal of friction. The peasants have an arduous life, and the leaders would not "get their hands dirty" because of the skills learned at school.

There is no denying the simple logic and the yearning of the peasant that the "good life" is related to the attainment of cultural knowledge. The peasants were quite realistic. And they hoped to give to their sons and daughters the good life they themselves failed to have. But there was a bottleneck here. In addition to the fact that all secondary schools were in cities and it was expensive sending children there, there were controls by the government on going to more advanced schools. Frustration thus created may indeed have bred an attitude of avoiding labor and despising manual labor, as the Chang report stated. Further, this may have led to an inferiority complex toward those of the urban areas, an alienation, and even discontent toward the party and state. In 1953 and 1954, there was a saying prevalent among children in rural areas which went, ". . . first be a factory worker, second a leader, third a teacher, but never become a peasant."[7]

Around this time there was a mass exodus of pupils from primary and secondary schools. According to incomplete statistics for January to February 1956 covering the seven provinces of Hunan, Chiangsu, Hopei, Honan, Chirin, Heilungchiang, and Fuchien, a total of 9,499 pupils in 189 secondary schools either quit or became regular absentees. In thirty-nine countries and cities in Liaoning, the figures reached 8,300 from the end of 1955 to March 1956. The same trend was even more conspicuous in primary schools: the data from Kuanghsi showed a decline of about 240,000 primary school pupils in 1955 as compared with the figure two years previously; in Heilungchiang the number of primary school pupils who dropped out between January 1 and February 23, 1955 was 120,000, about 10 per cent of the total enrollment.[8]

Such a phenomenon was a result of the peasants' realism, which grasped "culture" as something opposed to labor. As long as they could not send their children to secondary schools, the "good life" could not be expected, and it was more advantageous to have them at home when there was a labor shortage.

The situation was serious enough. If it was left unattended, it might become more than an issue of village education, even leading to a disintegration of collective farms. A responsible member of the Chiangsu Province Party Committee admitted that "the conflict between the desire for advanced schooling and participation in labor was the coexistence of internal and external contradictions."[9]

Such a situation called for concrete methods and campaigns to correct the peasants' thinking through practical data and facts rather than rhetoric. But nothing more persuasive than the Chang report appeared until about the middle of 1956. Even the proposition of the Party Central Committee in January

[7] *Jênmin chiaoyu* [People's education], April 1954.
[8] *Jênmin jihpao*, March 26, 1956.
[9] *Chiaoshihpao*, January 17, 1958.

1956, "On the National Agricultural Development, 1956–1957" (draft), failed to mention nothing more than a plan to "make seven to twelve years of primary schooling compulsory"[10] as a way that education would be more readily available in rural areas. Secondary school was not even mentioned.

C. *Change from "Policy from Above" to "Policy from Below" and Further Development*

Thus, the period between 1953 (the beginning of the First Five-Year Plan) and 1956 (issuance of "On the National Agricultural Development") was one of aggravating conflict between the demand for culture and education and productivity in Chinese rural areas. On the other hand, there was a steady pace of collectivization or agricultural socialization touched off by the Mao report. Table 7 shows that 96.3 per cent of all agricultural households in the nation joined the collective farms in 1956, and most collective farms were on advanced levels (APCs). We have already discussed what the inseparable relations were

TABLE 7

DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURAL COLLECTIVIZATION

A. Number of Agricultural Households

| | Households Which Joined Agricultural Cooperatives (10,000) | | | Households Which Joined Mutual-aid Teams (10,000) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Elementary APCs | Advanced APCs | Total | |
| 1950 | 187 households | 32 households | 219 households | 1,131.3 |
| 1951 | 1,588 households | 30 households | 1,618 households | 2,100.0 |
| 1952 | 5.7 | 0.2 | 5.9 | 4,536.4 |
| 1953 | 27.3 | 0.2 | 27.5 | 4,563.7 |
| 1954 | 228.5 | 1.2 | 229.7 | 6,847.8 |
| 1955 | 1,688.1 | 4.0 | 1,692.1 | 6,038.9 |
| 1956 | 1,040.7 | 10,742.2 | 11,782.9 | |

B. Percentage

| | Percentage of Collectivized Households among Total Agricultural Households | Agricultural Cooperatives | | | Mutual-aid Teams |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Elementary APCs | Advanced APCs | Total | |
| 1950 | 10.7 | | | | 10.7 |
| 1951 | 19.2 | | | | 19.2 |
| 1952 | 40.0 | 0.1 | | 0.1 | 39.9 |
| 1953 | 39.5 | 0.2 | | 0.2 | 39.3 |
| 1954 | 60.3 | 2.0 | | 2.0 | 58.3 |
| 1955 | 64.9 | 14.2 | | 14.2 | 50.7 |
| 1956 | 96.3 | 8.5 | 87.8 | 96.3 | |

Source: See Table 1.

[10] *Jênmin shouts'e* [People's yearbook] (1956), p. 613.

between collectivization and education. What was it that there was such a rapid pace of collectivization? The conflict was most gravely deepened in 1955-56, reflecting itself in the lower rate of collectivization and lack of transfer to higher-stage organizations (APCs) in 1955. The next year, however, registered dramatic progress, which suggests new factors in the productive relations or specific measures to alleviate the existing contradiction. What was it?

It was not a measure taken by the government or the party but a remedial step taken mainly by peasants themselves, i.e., establishment of so-called black market or unofficial primary and secondary schools. Schools not recognized official by educational authorities were generally called privately-run schools.[11] These schools rapidly grew in number from the latter part of 1955 with particularly fast growth in 1956, and continued to increase up until the end of 1971. The peasant masses started to build their own schools out of a repulsion for the rigid and dogmatic administrative leadership provided by the authorities and their lack of concretes. These schools were given various names and consisted of various types, classifiable in the following three categories.

(1) Shoe-Off Schools: Four-year primary schools were taken off of official financing and privately funded. Official money thus squeezed out was used for a fifth and sixth year. In this way, complete or six-year primary schools appeared even though public funds remained unchanged. The lower four-year education was likened to the shoe.

(2) Capped Schools: In an opposite type from the first, the fifth and sixth years (or the seventh and eighth years in the case of secondary schools) were added at private cost to the existing four-year schooling. This was the most numerous type.

(3) Anling Schools: These were run wholly on a private basis, with only teachers being invited from public schools.

In spite of their names, these types of privately-run schools were seen almost throughout the entire nation by the end of 1956. According to a study made on this subject,[12] in eight prefectures of Shanhsi Province, 24,533 pupils had attended these private primary schools as of 1957, accounting for 14.67 per cent of the total primary school enrollment for these areas. In Kueichou Province, about 498,000 out of a total of over 1.6 million pupils attended private

11 Privately-run schools at this time were "black market" schools. But one must also see that during the war against Japan and later in some liberated areas, education was emphasized in the same type of schools, but they were called a form of "privately-run but publicly-assisted" schools. Authorities in liberated areas were involved in providing assistance and leadership. When this tradition was ignored during the First Five-Year Plan period, there were criticisms in some quarters that they (1) suited neither the Soviet experience nor the Chinese reality, and (2) ignored the heritage of education in previously liberated areas. (See, for example, the view of Chang Lian-kuang, an educator, in *Hsinchienshe* [New construction], June 1958.)

12 Atsuyoshi Niijima, "Chūgoku ni okeru shakaishugi kyōiku no hatten" [Development of socialist education in China] in *Shakaishugi kyōiku no shisō to genjitsu* [The thought and reality of socialist education], ed. Kaigo (Tokyo: Ochanomizu-shobō, 1959), and Tsunekazu Takeuchi, "Min'eigakkō to kōritsu gakkō" [Private schools and public schools], *Tokyo Daigaku Kyōikugakubu kiyō*, Vol. 3 (1958).

primary schools in the same year. In Wushan County of Kansu Province, privatization of schools was vigorously carried out with an attendance rate increased from 18 per cent in 1953 to 81 per cent in 1957.

Private secondary schools had even greater percentages. By the end of 1956, there were 2,000 capped secondary schools in the entire country, and the number increased to 3,000 in May of the next year. The actual number of pupils attending these schools is unknown. But in view of the fact that there were only 6,000 public seventh-to-ninth grade secondary schools in the entire country at the time, the number of schools must have at least been about one-third of all the public schools.[13] We have already seen that educational demand by the peasantry was concentrated on secondary schools.

The establishment of unofficial schools is quite phenomenal and can in a way be considered a form of creativeness by the masses. But, whatever the subjective motive was, this constituted in nature an open rejection of the government's public education policy. The authorities were at a loss to know what to do when they first appeared. *Chiaoshihpao* [Teachers' journal], as professional opinion outlet, devoted much of its space to the pros and cons of the capped secondary schools around the end of 1956 and beginning of 1957. The main theme of the Third National Education Administration Conference in March 1957 was also devoted to capped secondary schools.

The capped secondary school, the embodiment of the peasant's demand for education, was shaking the policy of administrative guidance in education.

No one could deny that these schools existed, whatever names the party and the government gave to them. They also functioned to greatly reduce the cost of government spending for education, and, as will be described later, if only in an elementary manner, they met the requirements posed by an agricultural technology essential for collectivization. Thus, they had to be acknowledged. The Third Education Administration Conference, after heated debate, finally granted them official status with certain conditions,[14] saying: "The development of secondary schools particularly suited to the rural village, i.e., the capped secondary school, made attendance easy for rural boys and girls and, furthermore, promoted education for productive labor. This is a new creativity contributing to opening our schools for the great mass of workers and peasants."[15]

Now that the capped secondary schools were officially recognized, it meant a change in policy. Even if it was not quite a change in policy, there had to be a logical need for the granting of official status. The party used self-criticism to do so, publicly stating that the principal cause of the deepening conflict in education was the lack of public relations efforts when the previous policy was

[13] *Chiaoshihpao*, March 26 and September 3, 1957.

[14] These conditions were as follows: (1) no standard for operations should be devised; (2) they should be branches of nearby public schools, and they should in principle have only one class (when more classes are begun, they must become independent); and (3) the curriculum should suit reality. The guiding principle was that "they should in general develop gradually and individual accommodation be provided" (*Chiaoshihpao*, March 26, 1957).

[15] *Chiaoshihpao*, March 26, 1957.

changed. Liu Shao-ch'i stated at the Eighth National Congress in September 1956: "In many of our state agencies is the bureaucratic phenomenon of people who sit arrogantly at the top and have no knowledge of the lower echelons or the masses, suppressing their opinions, and paying no attention to the life of the masses."[16]

As mentioned in the foregoing section, the public relations campaign directed at the masses when the policy was changed ended in rhetoric, presenting no concrete method to be based on the lives and the demand of the masses. Liu discussed this, admitting a deficiency in the way the party line and policy logic was designed to enter the lives of the people, and he stated that the campaign deviated from the true mass line. Although his report made no direct reference to administrative guidance in education, it implied that the cause of the deepening contradiction in education was the "bureaucratic phenomenon" where party members, allegedly model administrators, did not side with the masses and only repeated rigid logic in a doctrinaire manner.

It follows that "the leadership organizations of the party must learn from the masses, must lend their ears to the criticisms and proposals of the masses, must check their own deeds through the deeds of the masses, and must correct their own wrongs" (resolution of the Eighth Congress of the Chinese Communist party).

It probably was this new line of self-criticism at the top that led to official recognition of the hitherto "black market" schools during the Education Administration Conference. One could not deny the various practical benefits from these unofficial schools, their being able to meet the requirements for collectivization and the considerable savings in government expenditure.

Some of the salient features of the capped secondary schools are that: first, since their operations expenses were borne by peasants and partly from collective farm savings, there was a great reduction in government expenditure; second, since these schools invited local party members and leaders as teachers or principals, a broad and ready channel of communication was established from the party through pupils to their parents; third, this helped greatly to dissolve parental discontent by making higher education available in the locality.

All this was advantageous in the authorities' viewpoint. But capped secondary schools provided considerable benefits to the peasants and collective farms also:

(1) Gave closer relations to production: The schools were established in small areas and small organizations, consisting of a number of collective farms, and they were schools belonging to the peasants. Thus, their schedule did not adhere to the uniform academic year decided without heed to local differences. The schools were better able to adapt to local conditions and labor cycles in setting up their curriculum. What was taught was more useful, some schools teaching new agricultural techniques, such as farm machinery operation and maintenance and livestock breeding.

(2) Helped to develop and strengthen collective farms: The schools pro-

[16] Liu Shao-ch'i's political report at the Eighth National Congress of Chinese Communist party (*Jênmin jihpao*, September 17, 1956).

vided personnel indispensable to the collective farm, such as accountants, secretaries, and recorders, and played an important role in educating the adult illiterate, for further increases in productivity. Since they imparted elementary knowledge in agricultural technology and got pupils to engage in productive labor as an integral part of instruction, the labor shortage problem was considerably alleviated.

For both the party's educational leadership and school founders, i.e., the masses, these characteristic features were bound to move the entire educational setup one step forward, improving the future of rural education and the building of socialist villages. Collectivization made dramatic progress with the support of these schools giving a positive function. Party logic leading to official recognition of these schools was corrected by the movement, not vice versa, just as long as the new party line was presented during the development of the movement. Peasants were able to give their wisdom and energy in taking alienation for what it was, and in their incessant search for a way to escape from it, they finally found their own movement to establish schools. This energy and wisdom altered the party educational policy. This is properly called the promotion of "policy from below."

The party now thought of this movement as an important factor for fundamentally changing rural structure, and they gave impetus to new measures one after another to promote, develop, and strengthen the movement. They also made efforts to develop a theoretical basis. With theoretical and ideological foundation derived from Mao's report on internal contradictions among the people,[17] February 1957, the Purification Movement was started in April, which was followed by a large-scale socialization movement directed at the rural population, the Work and Study Movement. The draft resolution "On the National Agricultural Development" was revised relating to privately-run schools in October 1957 and articles on education and culture were rewritten: "Starting in 1956, illiteracy is to be eliminated within twelve years, taking into account the local situation. Hamlets and collective farms must establish spare-time schools to enhance the cultural levels of rural leaders and peasants. *A variety of forms should be adopted in rural area school management. In addition to state-run schools, collective management by the masses should be promoted on an extensive scale* and individually operated schools shall also be permitted to disseminate education gradually . . ." (emphasis added).[18]

While the original draft mentioned five to seven years for the elimination of illiteracy, the revised version said it should be done within twelve years. The original advocated compulsory education from seven to twelve year in duration, but the new edition deleted this clause entirely and recognized diversity in the ways schools were managed.

However, one must not overlook the fact that these privately-run schools had characteristics which forced policy change and enabled a great reduction

[17] Mao's report was published as a paper in June 1957, "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People."

[18] *Jênmin shouts'e* [People's yearbook] (1958), p. 507.

in government expenditure for education, and depended on individual peasants for their financial basis. It must have constituted a considerable financial burden for peasants with an annual per capita income of merely 66 yuan to pay for their children's education, even though they wanted the children to be schooled. This is indicative of existence of another contradiction in the development of these schools which could be resolved only through a fundamental reform of productive relations in rural areas, i.e., the introduction of People's Communes.

## II. EDUCATIONAL REFORM IN THE PEOPLE'S COMMUNE PERIOD

### A. *The Purification Movement and the Socialist Education Movement*

The Purification Movement of the CCP started in May 1957 and the ensuing rural Socialist Education Movement greatly contributed to organize the energy of the rural masses in a revolutionarily correct direction and directing that energy to develop the rural economic foundation.

The Purification Movement was for intra-party self-education and was modelled after the Purify Three Styles Movement carried out in old-liberated areas for two years beginning in 1942. (These old-liberated areas were under party control at the end of the war against Japan, while new-liberated areas are those added to China's territory since then. The three styles were the style of learning, culture, and the party.) The objective of the movement was to check the behavior of individual members and to reform thought through learning Marxian literature, criticism and self-criticism, and by participation in manual labor. As has been mentioned, Mao's report on the internal contradictions already suggested the onset of a purification movement. Examining the Central Committee's "directive" of April 27 ("Directive on the Purification Movement")[19] and the "directive" of May 10 ("Directive on Participation in Manual Labor by Leaders on All Levels"),[20] one sees that the party intended to thoroughly restore its line of service to the masses. In terms of scale, 1957 movement was much more larger than its predecessor in the forties.

Of the April 27 "directive," the first clause says, "For several years our party has observed a renewed prevalence of bureaucratism, secretarianism, and subjectivism . . . we must repeatedly carry out thorough and universal purification within the party to fight against bureaucratism, secretarianism, and subjectivism, and enhance the ideological level of Marxism in the party and purify styles in order to reform and build socialism." The "directive" of May 10 mentioned the following four methods by which senior party leaders could take part in manual labor.

(1) On the basis of conditions in organization and of individual one may keep in constant touch with certain productive or building units (collective farms, industrial cooperatives, factories, mines, workshops, shops, restaurants, etc.), obtain the consent of that unit, and participate in bearable manual labor in a natural way under the guidance of peasants, workers, handworkers, and

[19] *Jênmin jihpao*, May 1, 1957.
[20] *Jênmin jihpao*, May 15, 1957.

those in charge of other businesses. Some examples are complementary, simple labor, such as weeding, harvesting, manure collecting, manure carrying, water carrying, earth carrying, hygiene, materials carrying, tidying rooms, etc.

(2) Leaders who visit lower organizations for inspection purposes should participate as much as possible in manual labor there. This applies as well to leaders on home leave.

(3) Under the guidance of party and government agencies they may engage in compulsory public service: street cleaning, planting, forestration, dam construction, street construction, ditch digging, filling abandoned ditches, etc.

(4) They may be engaged in grocery growing, feeding pigs, and any other productive labor or service at the organization they belong to.

Since many powerful party leaders were in management by nature of their jobs, they invariably tended to lose touch with the front line in manual labor and production. They may talk about eradication of bureaucratism, secretarianism, and subjectivism, but what they mean may not be the same as that expressed by the masses. If this situation is left unattended, it develops into doctrinairism with no understandings of what the masses are doing. We have already seen that the party line of self-criticism deviated from the true mass line. In order to regain a sense of identity with and service to the masses, the leaders themselves must remain in harmony with the people. The intra-party Purification Movement now combined an obligation of party members to do manual labor to give the utmost in political consideration to the needs of the masses with the attainment of educational efficiency. (The practice of party leaders, members, and intellectuals visiting production areas for a certain period to do manual labor is called *hsia fang* or "sent down."[21]) The theoretical basis for these various themes is contained in Mao's report on internal contradictions. This report pointed out that even after socialist reform is completed, various contradictions remain among the people, including contradictions between workers and peasants and between leaders and masses. However, they can be eliminated or otherwise dealt with by persuasion or control. The Purification Movement tried to get individual party members to reform themselves through service to the masses and to educate the masses on Mao's themes.

But in order to keep the masses interested, consideration must be given to not only highly political matters but to material ones as well. These are benefits based on masses' demands and desires. The CCP met the double requirement by strengthening ideological education (Socialist Education Movement) and producing teachers from leaders who were sent for labor service.

First, the party started a nation-wide rural Socialist Education Movement in August 1958, a continuation of the Purification Movement. The objective was to thoroughly convince the peasantry of the superiority of the socialist system

[21] I do not deny the intra-party nature of the 1957 Purification Movement. The party had as many as 4,730,000 new members from 1953 (the beginning of the First Five-Year Plan) to September 1956 (the Eighth National Congress). These members were constantly changing, and were not homogeneous in terms of party experiences, which called for intra-party purification. In spite of that, however, I maintain that the 1957 Purification Movement aimed to recover the mass line.

in completely eliminating the basic cause of the 1955–56 contradiction.[22] There were four principal themes: (1) superiority of agricultural cooperatives, (2) state collection and redistribution of food and other agricultural products, (3) relations between workers and peasants, and (4) the purge of anti-revolutionary elements and the observance of the law. Using the rest period and other free moments during production, peasants themselves were to point out facts, exchange views, and look back to former days comparing them to contemporary life. They were encouraged to freely discuss and express dissatisfaction. It was believed that logical comparison of the old and the new would lead to a recognition of the superiority of collective farms. What was wrong and right could be persuasively shown through observation. The leadership in the party expected this outcome. Party members were on the spot, ready to assist in discussion. They held that there would be an inevitable change in the consciousness of the peasant making him more favorable to socialism.

However, even with new consciousness and an enhanced enthusiasm for socialism, the free expression of dissatisfaction in itself was not education. This discussion had to be organized on a higher and clearer plane to build socialist villages with socialist peasants. More specifically, productivity must be raised sufficiently to attain the objectives set forth in the revised version of "On the National Agricultural Development." But if peasants were not able to read this document what then?

This is where the second element of the movement comes into play: eradicate illiteracy in the peasants, enhance the cultural level, and introduce technology. The party leaders now doing manual labor had to take on the job of teaching writing and imparting cultural and technological knowledge, in addition to serving as primary and secondary school teachers. Some remained in villages on a permanent basis as "transferers of culture."[23] Along with factors mentioned above, this greatly reduced peasant dissatisfaction, contributing to a greater confidence in the party and a stronger thirst for learning and technology.

Thus, by extending the Purification Movement to the mass level, successfully imbuing the movement with educational elements, the contradictions of the First Five-Year Plan were eliminated and the peasants made ideologically ready for the second plan.

Combined Purification and Socialist Education Movement bore fruit far earlier than expected. By the end of 1957, experimental paddy fields were seen in many areas. There was a competitive movement to achieve the objectives set in the National Agricultural Development Program at an earlier date than specified in the document. There was also a flow of population from cities back to rural areas. In Hungan County of Hupei Province, experimental paddies

[22] Another element in the Socialist Education Movement was the struggle against rightist elements which surged up during the Purification Movement. This will be discussed elsewhere.

[23] The importance the party attached to these leaders as "cultural transmitters" was quite apparent in the editorial of *Jênmin jihpao*, which argued that these leaders "give both culture and knowledge to peasants" and that "this is an important key to the promotion of technological innovation in villages" (*Jênmin jihpao*, March 28, 1958).

increased productivity and achieved the desired index ten years earlier than predicted.[24] It was reported that in Ch'engtu a rapidly increasing number of primary and secondary school graduates wanted to return to their villages after going to the city for more agreeable work.[25]

Of greater importance than these incidents was the successful removal of 10 billion cubic meters of earth from Huai Ho through the sole use of peasant financing and a peasant labor force in Honan and Anhui provinces. This was done in six months from the latter part of 1956 to the spring of 1957. In the preceding eight years the state had invested 1,450 million yuan to move only 1.6 billion cubic meters, amply illustrating the significance of the feat.[26]

Whether the peasants' self-consciousness toward socialism was truly enhanced is yet to be answered. But, there is no doubt that in the process of Purification and Socialist Education Movement the peasants changed acquiring a consciousness that socialism was not something that the party, government, or even workers could build alone but it could be built only with peasant participation. The massive energy displayed in the civil engineering work clearly demonstrated this. Chinese villages during around the end of 1957 and into 1958 must have been genuinely filled with the revolutionary zeal needed for the struggle with thought and nature.

Depending on conditions, the change from collective farms to People's Communes had already begun in this period.

B. *The Establishment of the New Socialist School (Agricultural Secondary School) and the Educational Revolution*

We have seen that the Purification and Socialist Education Movement released the latent energy of the peasants organizing it for socialist village construction. But the higher productivity and working morale rose, the more acutely the contradiction with productive relations was felt. For instance, achieving the objectives and indices specified in "On the National Agricultural Development," necessitated specific technical means although technical development and improvement was lagging behind. The peasants learned to read characters and mount bearings, but that was all. When civil engineering projects needed a large labor force from a village, the need for technical means was felt more acutely. Only the introduction of technology could alleviate the labor shortage problem. The labor force is said to have lacked about 100 million people in early 1958.[27] Successful civil engineering brought new contradictions to the rural areas.

But where would the needed technology come from when there was a lack of rural engineers in absolute numbers and in a situation in which rural areas had been dependent on the cities for their supply of engineers? In the movement a pledge was made that the construction of socialist villages would be completed mainly through the peasants' own efforts. The peasants themselves

[24] *Jēnmin jihpao*, February 15, 1958.
[25] *Jēnmin jihpao*, February 9, 1958.
[26] *Jēnmin jihpao*, May 27, 1958.
[27] "Nōgyō seisan ni okeru rōdōryoku fusoku mondai" [The issue of labor force shortage in agricultural production], *Ajia keizai jumpō*, No. 404.

knew full well that they could not count on urban workers for help any more.[28]

Take the case of Chiangsu Province. Here all possible avenues to counter the contradiction were investigated and ingenuity and technology was mobilized to the greatest extent. In the process, a committee was set up to organize and guide primary and secondary school graduates throughout the province under the guidance of local party organizations. This committee was composed of the local party organization, party leaders doing labor service, and representatives of the peasants. The objective was to provide various concrete measures so that graduates from primary schools could develop technology although they were unable to attend advanced schools and thus had to do agricultural labor.[29] Having primary school graduates engage in technical training simultaneously guaranteeing their advancement to secondary schools, would meet immediate demand, and develop rural secondary education. But construction of new schools requires money. The above-mentioned committee then used the capped secondary school as its model improving it further, resulting in a plan to establish privately-run agricultural secondary schools to train acutely needed engineers at no cost to the government. It so happened that the work and study system was put into practice in urban schools above secondary vocational school level as proposed by the Communist Youth League, which helped in carrying out the plan. "Work and study" meant the combining of schools with production to cut costs until, ultimately, the schools could sustain themselves.[30]

The committee adopted a compromise form of the half-labor-half-learning to make the work and study system more suitable to village realities and peasant demands and put it into practice. In March 1958 two such schools were established in Chiangsu Province (Shuanglou Village in Haian County and Shihchiao Village in Hanchiang County) marking the beginning of elementary-agricultural-technology secondary schools or agricultural secondary schools.

As soon as the plan was operational and it was made public, a far greater uproar arose than anyone could have ever anticipated. Those in charge of education not only in the province but in neighboring provinces gathered at Shuanglou Village. On March 17, Lu Ting-yi, then director of the propaganda and education section of the CCP Central Committee, visited the village for a round-table discussion session on privately-run agricultural secondary schools, where he made an important statement.[31] Following this discussion session, the

[28] Let me cite only one example here where a request was made for agricultural engineers. In the case of Ch'in County in Shanhsi Province, "Suppose that one farm unit had one engineer in each of six sections: agriculture, forestry, irrigation, livestock breeding, industry, and hygiene; and there are 293 units in the entire county. This would require a total of 1,758 engineers. If each unit operates one small tractor, 600 drivers are needed. Where do all the technicians come from? Do they wait for the state to provide them?" The situation was serious enought, and to varying degrees it was the same in all villages (*Chiaoshihpao*, May 20, 1958).

[29] *Chiaoshihpao*, January 17, 1958.

[30] *Chungkuo ch'ingnien pao* [China's youth daily], January 28, 1958.

[31] The words of Lu Ting-yi are taken from the summary by a reporter of *Jinjih shinwen* who correctly reported this discussion session (*Hsinhua panyüeh kan*, 1958, No. 8). On the significance of this session and its relations to ensuing development of the education

agricultural secondary school system spread through the entire province and throughout almost the entire nation, first Chiangsu, then to Chechiang, Chianghsi, Fuchien, Shantung, Shanhsi, Honan, Hupei, Kueichou, Ssuch'uan, Kansu, and Heilungchiang. In Chiangsu alone 2,900 were opened within a few weeks (as of April 4), still increasing by 600 by the end of April. In the entire country, there were 110,000 such schools by the end of 1958 with 6 million pupils, one-fifth of all rural primary school graduates. These were people unable to attend higher schools in 1957 in spite of the growth of privately-run secondary schools.[32]

In Chiangsu, the typical pace of propagation can be seen in the following example of Hsishihch'iao in Chiangyang County.[33]

March 27: Conclusion reached on the establishment of an agricultural secondary school at the prefectural council meeting on education.

March 28: The village (*hsiang*) committee completes preparations for establishment.

April 2: Nine schools were established through the village.

Such an explosive development is indicative of the great difficulties villages throughout the nation were encountering in technological development, and how eagerly they sought solutions.

Lu Ting-yi discussed this phenomenon at the round-table session: "Why are so many people interested in this issue [the agricultural secondary school experiment]?—It is really a wonderful thing to mobilize the energy of the masses and establish technical secondary schools, especially agricultural secondary schools, so that all primary graduates who cannot go on to day-school may receive secondary education. We are about to enter the greatest period in the entire history of our people, with great surges forward in industrial and agricultural production and technological development. Technology is fast catching up with production. Manufacturing and handicraft industries are in need of technology, and so is agriculture. Where do we get this necessary technology? If agricultural secondary schools can house hundreds of thousands or millions of primary school graduates, and train them to become consciously socialist peasants with culture and knowledge, then agricultural technology and management of collective farms can be greatly improved to effect a great leap forward in production. Thus, the establishment of agricultural secondary schools is not only beneficial to educational progress but also to greater agricultural production. That is why so many people are interested in this experiment."

revolution in ideological terms, see my "Lu Ting-yi to nōgyō chūgaku" [Lu Ting-yi and the agricultural secondary school], *Kyōiku-shi ronkō*, No. 3 (January 1964).

[32] *Jênmin chiaoyu*, May 1958, and *Jênmin jihpao*, July 23, 1959.

[33] *Chiangsu-sheng nungyeh-chunghsüeh hsiao-shih hsüanchi* [Selected works of the history of agricultural secondary schools in Chiangsu Province] (Chiangsu-jênmin-ch'upanshê, 1960). In these selected works are the records of the twenty-two agricultural secondary schools in Chiangsu Province, to which the party secretary of Chiangsu Party Committee writes a foreword.

Lu Ting-yi knew the two-fold significance of the agricultural secondary school, for agricultural production and educational development.

Let us now look at the mechanism of this school. By examining the plan of the first agricultural secondary school in Shuanglou Village, we can observe the salient features of its educational functions.

Organization of the agricultural secondary school in Shuanglou Village:[34]

(1) Education:
   (a) three classes, of fifty pupils each (pupils come from a distance of 1.7 kilometers),
   (b) one full-time teacher for each class with a total of four teachers,
   (c) pupils of age thirteen to sixteen that have graduated from primary school,
   (d) study in the morning and work in the afternoon.

(2) Labor participation:
   (a) Labor in the productive units of collective farms—pupils distributed in accordance to a unit production plan (pupils are grouped into ten to fifteen-member teams, and communication and mutual assistance is emphasized),
   (b) Labor in the school:
      (i) the school runs an experimental rice paddy, to be cultivated by pupils using the agricultural technology they have learned,
      (ii) additional work—livestock breeding and mechanical engineering are stressed (livestock breeding should help school finances as well),
      (iii) public service labor—street cleaning, helping with school building construction, facility improvement, etc.

(3) Classes:
   (a) subjects taught are limited to five (Chinese, arithmetic, politics, agriculture, and hygiene), a total of eighteen hours a week (one class period is fifty minutes),
   (b) timetable for the starting week is as follows:

| Subjects | | Contents | Hours |
|---|---|---|---|
| Cultural curriculum | Language and literature | Modern literature<br>Essays on current issues (e.g., editorial of *Jên-min jihpao*) | 6 |
| | Mathematics | Same as mathematics curriculum for general junior secondary schools, plus abacus and bookkeeping | 5 |
| | Politics | CCP policy<br>Current thought struggle | 3 |
| Technical curriculum | Agriculture | Agricultural technology directly related to China's development stage | 4 |
| | Hygienics | Preventive hygiene | 1 |

[34] Compiled from *Chiaoshihpao*, April 4, 1958.

Note the following characteristics of the school, common to all others in the same category.

First, the half-labor-half-learning system was institutionalized so that half a day is devoted to learning and the other half to labor, making practicable socialist principle of combining learning and productive labor. Second, children were not taken from production sites but were a positive element in the production plan. Third, class lessons were practical in nature.

Two advantages are derived from the first point: (1) a change in labor philosophy, and (2) a materialization of the work and study system. The tendency to avoid and neglect manual labor, surviving the First Five-Year Plan and the Purification and Socialist Education Movement, could be fundamentally transformed through this practice. The running cost of the school may be secured by the work and study system, greatly reducing parents' financial burden. This is related to the small-size of the school as well.

The second characteristic promoted dissolvement of the immediate village problem of technological development, helped alleviate the labor shortage problem, and increased household income. Compensation for labor performed by pupils in productive units was recorded as income for the household they were from. The fact that pupils' labor was considered an integral part of the labor force in the production plan was a clear indication that collective farms were already taking pupils as a part of the reserve army of labor.

The third feature was a logical outcome of the above two factors. The objective was to combine theory with practice, and "make immediate use of what is learned." Naturally, general studies suited to secondary education were not neglected.

These characteristic features and the resulting advantages had the latent possibility of greatly changing the hitherto accepted idea of what a "school" is. This Shuanglou Village plan was taken as a model for all schools of this type in Chiangsu Province, gradually emerging into a uniform pattern as shown in Table 8, with slight changes in class content.

What practical effects did these schools have and how were they useful in changing village realities? Common items appearing in many reports and materials published by the middle of 1958 dealt mainly with peasant response, including: (1) reduced educational cost increased parents' enthusiasm for education, (2) collective farms were strengthened, and (3) ideological campaigns were easier to carry out. Not much was mentioned in terms of developing new technology. But in the latter half of the year the situation changed drastically, bringing on very positive evaluations of technological training.

With schools in Hsishihch'iao in Chiangsu Province, the paddy field entrusted to the collective farm was followed by the establishment of science laboratory and four service stations for technological development, livestock breeding and veterinaries, insect elimination, and weather forecasting. In the paddy experiment, a new way of planting rice was originated placing the seedlings deeper and in more concentrated patterns, and saving potato seedlings was another new method. The weather service station made forecasts at 95 per cent accuracy.

TABLE 8

INSTRUCTION PROGRAM FOR AGRICULTURAL SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN CHIANGSU PROVINCE

(Hours per week)

| Subjects | 1st Year | 2nd Year | 3rd Year | Total of Hours for 3 Years |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Chinese language and literature | 7 | 6 | 6 | 748 |
| Mathematics | 7 | 6 | 5 | 710 |
| Agriculture | 5 | 5 | 5 | 590 |
| Politics | 1 | 1 | 1 | 118 |
| Hygienics | | 2 | | 80 |
| Natural sciences | | | 2 | 76 |
| Total | 20 | 20 | 19 | 2,322 |

Source: *Chiaoshihpao*, March 25 and April 25, 1958.

Note: The table shows that study hours for students are around twenty hours per week, with the rest of school hours spent for labor. Annually, students study and work for four months each, and have a one-month vacation.

In the agricultural secondary school in Tangwan in Shanghai, it was reported, with the help of seven teachers, 200 pupils devised seventy new agricultural machines, and the harvester that they developed proved 100 times more efficient than the one in general use.[35] In Chiangsu Province, at the end of 1958 the agricultural secondary schools had 115,400 hectares of land (including experimental paddies) and 1,446 small workshops and factories to produce and repair farm machinery, with an income of 4,740,000 yuan.

At this stage, schools became completely self-financed, and the remaining balance went to collective farms.[36] It is reported that in various villages agricultural secondary schools pupils were called *ssûtakung* meaning that they were engineers in productive technology, campaigners for ideology, good pupils at school, and fighters in productive labor. They were heartily welcomed. Such a report is not necessarily an exaggeration.[37]

The second revision of "On the National Agricultural Development" was made on the basis of such village changes.[38]

[35] The example of Hsishihch'iao is taken from the selected works mentioned in note 33, and the instance of Tangwan is taken from my own interviews on my visit to China. See my "Jinminkōsha-ka dankai ni okeru kyōikufukyū no tembō" [Prospect of educational propagation during the process of communization], *Gendai Chūgoku*, No. 38 (May 1963).

[36] *Nungyeh-chunghsüeh-tê shêngch'an tzuchi* [Production system of agricultural secondary school] (Chiangsu-jênmin-ch'upanshê, 1960) reports various cases and experiences how agricultural secondary schools achieved self-sufficiency in terms of the full or partial school operating cost.

[37] "Nōson ni saku bunka no hana" [Blossoming cultural flowers in villages], *Jinmin Chūgoku*, Japanese edition, August 1959.

[38] "On the National Agricultural Development" was published in revised form in February

C. *Success in Educational Revolution and People's Commune Education*

As the words of Lu Ting-yi show, agricultural secondary schools had success that was beyond the narrow meaning of educational issues.

First, it provided adequate conditions to train manpower in pace with construction speed. Second, along with elevated cultural levels, foundations were laid for creating the type of man conscious of socialism's direction. Such a man could positively function to build the economic basis of socialism. Third, it obtained a place for versatile technical education (*polytecknism*) so that technological innovation could occur. These and other favorable effects provided conditions definitely advantageous to party leaders who were about to embark on the Second Five-Year Plan.

The document hammered out at the second session of the Eighth National Congress in May 1958, "General Policy of Socialist Construction," considered "cultural and technological revolution" as a most important task.[39] The slogan of the general policy was "Much, fast, well to build a socialism without waste." It was applicable to all fields of endeavor. In education, the agricultural secondary school system suited this slogan.

The Central Committee convened special education meeting once in April and once in June 1958, a time when agricultural secondary schools were rapidly spreading. The meetings were held to discuss "a series of theoretical and practical issues," to present the principles and policies of socialist education which revolve around the combination of education and productive labor. They wanted to fully adopt the agricultural secondary school system that would spread further to all branches of education. This was ample indication of the great role that these schools played, and of their great revolutionary significance. In August and September 1958, two papers were made public: one written by Lu Ting-yi, "Education Must Be Combined with Productive Labor," and the other co-authored by the Central Committee and the Cabinet, "Directive on Educational Activities." Both were drafted after participating discussions at the two meetings mentioned above.[40]

1958, in which the 31st article mentioned "agricultural secondary schools in ordinary *hsiang*" in the place of the previous item on the spare-time cultural schools.

[39] The general policy was to plan to transform the country from an agricultural country to an industrial giant, with the following five principles: (1) socialist ownership by all people should be enhanced; (2) technological and cultural revolutions should be achieved; (3) concurrent development of agriculture and industry should be made on the assumption that priorities are placed on heavy industries; (4) with the assumption of concentrated guidance, total planning, and division and cooperation of labor, both central and local industries should be concurrently developed, while all large-, medium- and small-scale industries should also be concurrently developed; and (5) the mass line should be adhered to in all fields (see Liu's report as cited already).

[40] These two documents are essential reading on the educational revolution in China. Lu Ting-yi, "Chiaoyü pihsü yü shêngch'an laotung hsingchiehkê" [Education must be combined with productive labor], *Hungch'i*, 1958, No. 7 and the Central Committee of the

Lu Ting-yi cited data which he ascribed mainly to the establishment and development of the agricultural secondary school and the work and study system: "Since the beginning of this year great strides have been made in our country's education. According to estimates by the Statistics Bureau, elementary school education was prevalent in the country's 1,240 prefectures. By the end of June, there were 68,000 privately-run secondary schools, over 400 newly established institutes of advanced learning, and over 90 million people taking part in illiteracy elimination programs in 444 prefectures."

Let us put the above data in perspective. Since there were 1,796 prefectures (excluding autonomous regions), about three-fifths of the prefectures had primary schools. Second, if most private secondary schools are considered to be agricultural secondary schools, and we compare the figure of 68,000 with the year end figure of 110,000, we see that this school category had very rapid growth within three months of its inception. This must be the fastest development of secondary education in the world. Third, the existence of over 400 schools of advanced learning is utterly unexpected, showing that growth of secondary schools occurred as part of the entire educational system; the growing middle range brought on growth in the lower and upper levels as well. Fourth, the number of people participating in illiteracy elimination programs were about 90 million out of 150 million illiterates at the end of 1957, and it is possible that about 60 per cent of these people had learned to read by the middle of 1958.[41]

It is not difficult to understand what far-reaching effects the establishment of agricultural secondary schools had. Another important effect was the change brought to the existing school system and to educational philosophy, so that new socialist educational principles were firmly established in China. Lu Ting-yi had the following to say in his paper: "By this system of learning while working, ordinary educational institutes began to combine with productive labor. The old tradition of neglecting manual labor, long prevalent in ordinary educational institutes, has now been destroyed. As the air at schools has cleared, it has favorably influenced the air in society as a whole.... This elevated cultural revolution spread to urban areas, and schools began to operate factories and factories began to manage schools." Further, "Cultural revolution is for all 600 million people in our country so that they will engage in production and learning, except for those who are incapacitated. This will make intellectuals out of workers and farmers, and workers out of intellectuals, so to speak.... Thus, the revolution is profoundly significant, requiring education to serve the politics of the working class and to combine with productive labor."

As Table 9 shows, the growing trend of factories run by schools and vice versa is clearly observable. Particularly there are many factories and enterprises

Chinese Communist Party, "*Kuankan chiaoyü kungtso tê chihshih*" [Government directive on educational activities], *Jênmin jihpao*, September 20, 1958.

[41] A favorable elements in illiteracy elimination was the technical improvement in traditional Chinese characters. Along with simplifying certain characters, phonetic symbols were abolished and in their place twenty-five roman letters were used, making memorization easier.

TABLE 9

FACTORIES RUN BY SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLS FOUNDED BY FACTORIES AND ENTERPRISES

A. Factories Run by Schools

| Type of Schools | Number of Schools | Number of Factories |
|---|---|---|
| Universities and colleges | 397 | 7,240 |
| Secondary vocational schools | 1,860 | 21,504 |
| Secondary ordinary schools | 18,865 | 122,864 |
| Total | 21,122 | 151,608 |

Source: *Kuangming jihpao*, November 3, 1958.

B. Schools Founded by Factories and Enterprises

| | Students in 1957 | Students in 1958 | Ratio of 1958 to 1957 (1957=100) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Higher education | 0 | 12,000 | — |
| Secondary education | 80,000 | 330,000 | 412 |
| Primary education | 570,000 | 900,000 | 140 |
| Spare-time education | 5,140,000 | 13,510,000 | 222 |
| Total of students | 5,790,000 | 14,750,000 | 255 |

Source: *Kuangming jihpao*, November 9, 1958.

managing schools for advanced learning, showing that producing units had their own means to secure engineers instead of depending on technical high schools. Increment in production due to schools engaged in production was 1,936 tons of fertilizer, 36,600 units machine unit, and 1,690,000 tons of iron and steel (6 per cent of total 1958 iron and steel production).[42]

These phenomena were responsible for something more than production increases. Lu's paper repeatedly emphasized two points. One that there were many deficiencies because of the traditional attitude of education as a specialized area handled only by specialists. Many people took it for granted that "schools are to be built by the state and the government, and only these schools are proper," that "schools are a place for learning not production," and that "laymen [workers, peasants, and party organizations] cannot guide professionals [teachers, professors, and specialists]." But these fastly held ideas were now destroyed. The other point was that the "only way" now recognized to bring up pupils as wholly developed human beings "with complete knowledge capable of both mental and physical work" was a system combining education with production and labor.

It was only natural that the following "directive" specified what education would be in China. "Our course now is to have schools build factories and farms, and to have factories and collective farms build schools. Schools may build factories and farms alone or with the help of existing factories or collective

[42] *Kuangming jihpao*, November 3, 1958.

farms. Pupils may work at factory or farm under school management or come from outside. When schools run factories or farms, instruction should be combined with production as much as possible."

But if this were carried out without planning, only confusion and disorder would result. In other words, productivity would be raised but productive relations would remain unchanged. It is inconceivable that the party did not foresee this. They must have held the view that the basic conditions for heading in the right direction were already in existence everywhere. This condition was none other than a firmly established system under which education and production could be planned in combination, i.e., the establishment of People's Communes. Nothing else could be used to plan this combination. People's Communes would organically combine them under integrated plans, embracing both politico-economic and cultural-educational aspects. Neither the Lu paper nor "directive" refers to People's Communes directly, but the awareness of their existence must have been keen. At the same time, it is entirely conceivable that these two documents in turn made the pace of coming events even faster.

The cultural-technological revolution starting with the establishment of agricultural secondary schools not only brought the great leap forward in education but also set a movement in motion with direct bearing on Chinese social structure.

Figure 2 shows the production-education system of a People's Commune in Honan Province made public around the time of the "directive." We find here that the community (i.e., the productive unit) and the educational organizations are mutually related, each enhancing the activities of the other. The People's Commune is often said to unify political and social factors, organically combining the five factors of industry, agriculture, commerce, learning, and soldiering. The combination of industry-agriculture and learning in actual terms is shown here.[43] It was a genuine educational network structure.

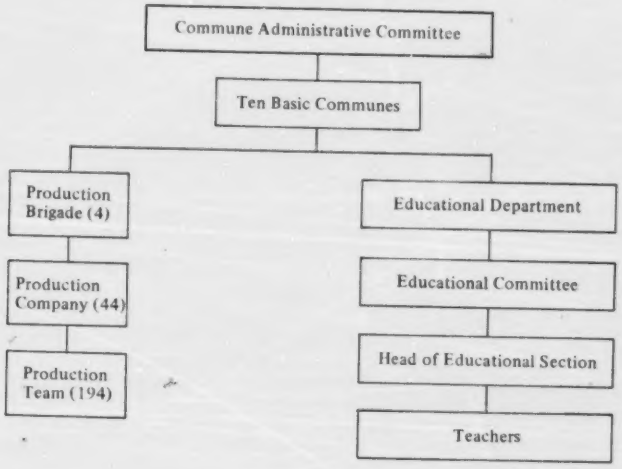
For the first time, the CCP overcame contradictions in the educational policy in the First Five-Year Plan period and left a period of stagnation, finally establishing direction and creating institutions for socialist education that were most suitable to the realities and general conditions of the country. Herein is the key for the great development in education mentioned at the beginning of this paper. The Purification Movement was what actually found the key, and the gigantic mobilization of activities by 70 million people.

Various factors later arise bringing on the Great Cultural Revolution, but there is no doubt that the foundation and direction of Chinese-type socialism was firmly established in this period.

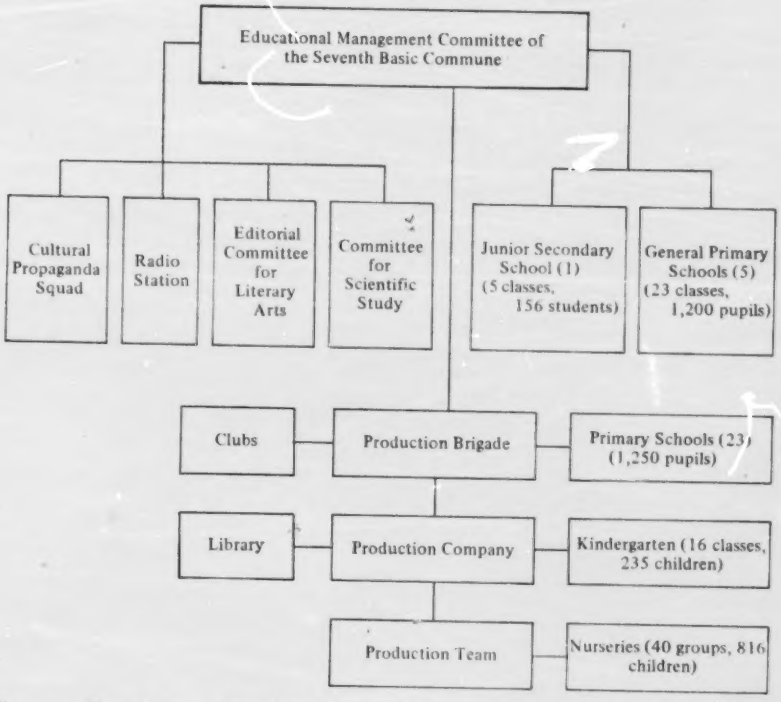
[43] This People's Commune was one of the first communes in China, established in April 1958 with twenty-seven existing collective farms participating in its formation. There were ten basic communes with a population of about 43,000, the number of total households around 9,300 and the total of 5,570 schools as of August 1958, including primary schools, red special schools and other categories. Previously there were only nineteen primary schools in the area altogether (*Jênmin jihpao*, September 4, 1958, and *Kuangming jihpao*, September 11, 1958).

Fig. 2. Educational System of a People's Commune in Honan Province

A. Production-Education System




B. An Example of School Management


Educational Management Committee of the Seventh Basic Commune
Cultural Propaganda Squad
Radio Station
Editorial Committee for Literary Arts
Committee for Scientific Study
Junior Secondary School (1) (5 classes, 156 students)
General Primary Schools (5) (23 classes, 1,200 pupils)
Clubs
Production Brigade
Primary Schools (23) (1,250 pupils)
Library
Production Company
Kindergarten (16 classes, 235 children)
Production Team
Nurseries (40 groups, 816 children)

Source: *Kuangming jihpao*, November 1, 1958 and January 3, 1959.

## CONCLUSION: THE ISSUE OF CHINESE SOCIALISM—MAO TSE-TUNG'S PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION

We have thus seen the contradictions that arose during the transitional period of Chinese socialist construction, particularly toward the end of the First Five-Year Plan period; what measures were necessary to overcome these contradiction, how the great leap forward in education was achieved, and how the educational revolution was created. Our main focus has been on the educational policy of the CCP and people's reactions to that policy.

Through this study we have found that China emphasized certain unique Chinese features to construct socialism along with the universality of socialism for promoting education and culture. Actual execution of educational programs took forms appropriate to the people's situation and the country's realities. This can be seen in the development process from privately-run schools to agricultural secondary schools, embodying the system of work and study, as well as in the way education was disseminated throughout the country.

What then are the universals and particulars of socialist education? What prospects do Chinese characteristic give to the future development of education? Let us examine these issues from a theoretical viewpoint.

I mentioned the universal nature of socialist education at the beginning. This concept is ultimately concerned with combining education and productive labor, as Marx proposed, to develop the entire personality. Marx defined this principle as follows: "For all children above a certain age this education combines productive labor with learning and physical exercises. This is not merely a way to increase social production but also the only way to produce wholly developed human beings" (*Capital*), and "It is one of the most effective means to combine productive labor with education from the days of childhood to change today's society" (*Critique of the Gotha Programme*). The Chinese practice is related to this and does not deviate from the universal characterization of education. Mao mentions "having education serve the politics of the proletarian class and combine with productive labor" and "developing all aspects of the educated, moral, intellectual, and physical, and imbuing socialist consciousness and culture" (*On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People*). "Developing all aspects, moral, intellectual, and physical" corresponds to "wholly developed human beings." In dealing with CCP educational policy, Mao insisted that education was an integral part of the revolutionary movement, that culture, including education, constituted the superstructure, and that it should serve the substructure and not be a complete entity into itself. But this is quite compatible with the Marxian philosophy of education, a valid application of socialist educational principles to the Chinese Revolution.

As has been seen, however, China started from a underdeveloped stage with a low level of productivity and a large illiterate population. This did not allow complete application of universal principles, although they were recognized as such by the trial-and-error efforts that were made. With villages, the USSR in a comparable stage of development was able to promote powerful collective

economies with leverage provided by machine tractor stations (MTS), but such conditions were entirely lacking in China. With incomplete substructure or infrastructure, the country could not afford adequate education. The result was a dependency on manpower. In the productive process with manpower at the core, the importance of education for the people was recognized as a production element. The Mao theory, proved correct during the fight against Japan, for instance, "subjective initiative" in the *On Protracted War*, was used again, and appeared in labor-education and technological education in a concrete way. But basically the development of manpower as a result of ideological and political education was utilized as a means. The Purification and Socialist Education Movement was a typical case. This is characteristic of a backward country trying to change its system precipitously and forcefully, and thus may be a uniquely Chinese phenomenon. But theoretically the Chinese experience is more than a case of a late starter during a transitional period to socialism. Thus, the philosophy of man or philosophy of education is of particular significance.

When uniqueness is taken as the denominator, therefore, the Chinese experience presents a new theory of social development and human progress. It is said that man's consciousness lags behind social progress, and that revolution in mentality follows high productivity and a firmly established material infrastructure. Education has been developed based on such a philosophy. The Chinese during the period of the First Five-Year Plan were no exception. Contradictions were aggravated during the latter years, and the authorities fell into the trap of subjectivism by desiring to achieve their objectives quickly. What became apparent during the 1957–58 Purification and Socialist Education Movement was that the party arrived at an understanding that seemed the complete opposite of the general view at first. I have not been able to deal with the issue adequately but party methods during the Purification and Socialist Education Movement depended above all on the spirit of communism and the revolutionary consciousness of the masses to provide the moral and revolutionary zeal to deal with the problems.

Moral zeal, as in the Purification Movement, gained the thorough confidence of the masses by party leader participation in labor and complete dedication to the masses. In other words, the leaders' enthusiasm was transmitted by close human relations and by solidarity. Revolutionary zeal was also clearly brought on by the struggles against rightist elements, rich peasants and bourgeois elements, and the realization that there had been an improvement over the past during the Purification and Socialist Education Movement. Furthermore, what little enthusiasm and creativity there was, was highly esteemed and then organized so that the morale of the masses would be retained and strengthened. The results of such measures are seen in successful civil engineering and establishing the agricultural secondary schools which ultimately led to the People's Communes. This would have been inconceivable without revolutionary energy from the masses; coercion or institutionalization alone would never have accomplished this. Here the logic supporting this is that a revolution in man's mentality, or politico-ideological education to bring about such a revolution, is more important than technology and machinery to develop productivity and change in productive

relations. In fact, the party expresses: "We must be aware that machines are made and operated by man, and that the production of physical means is possible only through man's efforts. Man is the doer, and the subjective activeness of the masses is a great engine" (report at the second session of the Eighth National Congress), and "the party must take good care to comprehensively grasp thought, production, and life, and must correct the tendency to see things and not man. The higher the enthusiasm of the masses, the greater care the party must exercise in looking at their life. The greater the care the party takes for the life of the masses, the higher their zeal is" (resolution of various issues in People's Communes).

Thus, the Chinese Communist party did not conceive of education simply as schooling but education as a socio-political movement through personal communication by party members with the masses. China never institutionalized the system of compulsory education. It adopted various institutional forms learning in order to do "what is possible" in "any way possible" by "whomsoever is capable." These practical principles were all based on the philisophy of education described.

But the emphasis on peculiarly Chinese features in the Marxian philosophy and interpretation of education was bound to have repercussions in other countries trying to build socialism. For instance, the USSR attack China's programs in October 1962 at the 22nd Party Congress: "The starting point of our party is the Lenin's declaration that communism must be built on the principle of material interest" (The Party Platform). While China emphasized "combining education with productive labor," the USSR proposed a "combination of education and daily life" (Law on Educational Reform, December 1958). We must look at this further to see if Lenin really denied revolutionary zeal or stimulants to morale depending principally on "material interest," and if and how "productive labor" differs from "daily life." But as far as what was meant by education during the transitional period is concerned, the Chinese and Soviet versions are quite divergent.

China places ever greater emphasis on Mao's thought as that which accomplished the creative development of Marxism, and pursues its particularities even more. This rift seems to continue and involve itself in ensuing ideological struggles between the two countries and in the Great Cultural Revolution. Without discussing the details of the Great Cultural Revolution, let us say that it was basically concerned with the issue of education and the gigantic experiment of changing man's basic thinking through moral imperatives, and that it was unmistakably aimed at continuing the Cultural Revolution of 1958 but on a larger scale.[44]

[44] On this point, refer to my "Bunka-kakumei no riron to jissen—bunka-daikakumei-ron josetsu" [The theory and practice of Cultural Revolution—basic understanding of the Great Cultural Revolution], *Ajia keizai*, September 1966; "Bunka-daikakumei no kōdō to ronri" [Behavior and logic of the Great Cultural Revolution], *Gendai-kyōiku-kagaku*, September 1967; "Bunka-daikakumei no ronri" [Logic of the Great Cultural Revolution], *Ekonomisto*, October 9, 1967; and "The Great Cultural Revolution and the Educational Reform," *Developing Economies*, Vol. 9, No. 4 (December 1971).